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836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

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Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

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836 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult
558 woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in
178 that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--282 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/237/

CONCLUSIONS

I

177 Guajiro culture and society can no longer be considered to be homogeneous bodies. Each of them has been subjected to the influence of contact with other civilizations which are distinct from their own both in manifestation and in human constituents and which have left the mark of their wake in the transformation of institutions as well as individuals. This process, which we may suppose started before the Conquest through relations with other neighboring native groups in the adjacent department of Magdalena and in the bordering republic of Venezuela, was accelerated after the area was colonized and its rhythm has been increasing, in a progression we might call geometric -- with the advance and the development of the republic of Colombia, especially in the latter period of its history when migratory currents have made themselves felt with greater intensity over the length and breadth of its territory for reasons we will not mention here as they are outside the scope of this work.

177 563 In any case, racial and cultural mixing /mestizaje/ is one of the most important factors in the study of La Guajira. As one has been able to note in the contents of this study, its institutions and primary cultural patterns -- the traditional ones being understood by this -- are in part conditioned by the new cultural forms adopted through the impact of different groups which have penetrated peacefully or violently into their innermost lives. First, the Spanish conquerors; then the European merchants who took advantage of the pearl trade of the Guajiro Indians; later the colonists, also Spaniards, who established their haciendas in regions in close contact with the peninsula; and last, the mestizo groups, generally negroid, from the Colombian and Venezuelan coasts, who have most directly influenced the social and cultural changes in the Guajiro by reason of their having at their disposal an excellent network of communication by air, land, and sea

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177 which furrows all the territory inhabited by the Indians, from the
563 towns of the department of Magdalena to the dominant /238/ urban center of the region, Maracaibo, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela.

177 To these factors, which we might call unconscious or involuntary, must be added others that are not so, such as the missionary influence and that of the schools for natives, which, although very few up to the present in comparison with the number of inhabitants in the peninsula, have definitely impressed cultural norms of a civilization quite distinct from autochthonous ones, especially with regard to religion. For, as noted by my husband in his work, Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, published in the previous number of this review, magic -- although it influences and determines many of the cultural patterns of the natives and their reactions and ways of thinking -- has been losing ground day by day as the new ideas of the Catholic religion are inculcated in the individual; and its most genuine representative, the shaman, or medicine man, has to a great extent lost his value as spiritual director of the community and is reduced today to the status of a simple curer /curandero/ who sees himself facing an unequal struggle with the medical doctors who arrive in the peninsula, to the point that "if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past."

Furthermore, these two factors have determined appreciable changes in another of the strongest Indian institutions: marriage. As the reader will have noted, the chapter which we dedicated to this social aspect is probably the most extensive of the study we have just presented, a fact due not to a greater collection of notes on this subject but to its relative importance within the aggregate of cultural institutions. From it is directly derived the concept of

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177 the races, as well as of cultures started in the colonial period, according to the records of the chroniclers of those times, not only with the whites who penetrated the territory on expeditions of conquest or trade but also with the Negroes whom the natives had taken as slaves in exchange for pearls each time that the slave ships dropped anchor off their coast. This mixing continued sporadically, giving the characteristics of indomitable ferocity of La Guajira throughout the colonial period, and has accelerated as has cultural contact during recent years for reasons already noted.

144 177 563 This does not mean, naturally, that the racial composition of the La Guajira Peninsula is exclusively mestizo -- a mixture of Indians with whites, mestizos, Negroes, or mulattos -- because the greatest percentage of inhabitants is still pure Indian, especially so in the districts where they have had less contact with the civilized world, as happens in the Sierra de Jarara, for whose inhabitants there is a term very common in the whole territory, cerreros, that is, pure Indians in the widest sense of the word: Indians who preserve not only their physical characteristics but their unalterable psychic and cultural traits.

This crossing, as has happened in all the cases which we have been able to observe in societies dominated by other cultures, has been effected by the combination of the feminine element in the dominated race and the masculine element on the dominating side. The cases where the opposite has occurred are very rare. It may be added that this appears to be a general law, at least among the South American communities which had to submit to the invasion of Europeans, brought about in various ways and according to the period of penetration. /241/

177 563 Guajiro traditional institutions were so strong that the changes in social composition did not at first essentially affect their cultural patterns. The newcomers adapted themselves perfectly to the norms of native life and made common cause with them, only differing in their physical type resulting from cross-breeding /mestizaje/ and possibly some cultural manifestations

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177 SC3 imposed by the father, if he stayed in the peninsula. Even today, many of the mestizos of La Guajira follow the Indian way of life, accepting their norms and being subject to their laws, and approving and participating in all outstanding times of life. One may often observe in them the appearance of a civilizado, that is, of an outsider to the Guajiro culture, by their external appearance and by certain forms of their conduct; but when one gets closer to them or sees them in their drunken moments, all their native ancestry comes to the fore and the mestizo, who had appeared to be a "white," becomes completely Indian.

IV

177 But the process of acculturation brings about, in the individuals, as it does in the case of culture and society, definite new forms, which slowly go adjusting their ways of feeling and thinking, which condition their reactions to new patterns, the fruit of mixture of the traditional and the foreign. It could not be otherwise, given the interaction existing among these three component elements of the group: culture, society, and the individual. For this same reason, the personality of the Guajiro is very difficult to explain today given on the peninsula, as we have just seen, that persons and even entire groups who preserve intact their original cultural birthright live together with individuals and groups who have adapted their system of life to a new method, the product of the mixture of several cultures. But the process is in action and one can safely presume the ultimate unification of all the individuals under the new patterns.

The forms of reaction of the individual, as we have noted in the early chapters of this study, which correspond to what is the life cycle of the individual in La Guajira, have become transformed. Their response to different situations has changed, and their systems of compulsion related to these situations have suffered variations in practice, which it is natural to expect. The /242/ very morals of the native have weakened from their

[99 cont.]
751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called
ranfa in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[177] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the
contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colom-
bia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[171] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca,
Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being
exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this
belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was
initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these
notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable
reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal
for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now
express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms
through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these
same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[563] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and
kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of
people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terri-
ble races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with
the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and every-
day more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América
[The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios
Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very gen-
eral belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they
should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the
course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and
sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them aríjuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and 124 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *núrcte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

567 and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated
648 alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in
567 the western low country, were usually accounted the centre
797 of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some
● [563] three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the
[439] eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.